

Message Text

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SUBJ: AYES PROGRAM BALANCE

REF: STATE 176700

SUMMARY: MEETING OF AYES BOARD JUL 19 NON-PRODUCTIVE SINCE TWO SIDES COULD NOT REACH AGREEMENT ON DISTRIBUTION OF TRAVEL-ONLY GRANTS. QUESTION TO BE TAKEN UP AGAIN AT NEXT MEETING, SCHEDULED FOR SEP 20. YUGOSLAV SIDE NOW MAINTAINS MATTER OF PROGRAM BALANCE IS DISAGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE AND THAT TRAVEL ONLY DISTRIBUTION CAN NOT BE MADE UNTIL LARGER QUESTION RESOLVED.

1. AS DEPARTMENT AWARE, US SIDE URGED INCREASED EMPHASIS ON SOCIAL SCIENCES/HUMANITIES AT AYES BOARD MEETING IN JAN 1975. AT THAT TIME, YUGOSLAV SIDE APPEARED ACCEPT OUR PROPOSITION OR AT LEAST REGISTERED NO OBJECTION. THIS EVIDENCED BY STATEMENT IN INTRODUCTION TO AY 1976 PROGRAM PLAN, APPROVED BY BOTH SIDES IN FEB 1976, THAT "A GRADUAL TRANSITION FROM THE PURE AND APPLIED SCIENCES HAS BEEN INITIATED, AND THIS WILL BECOME MORE EVIDENT IN THE 1977/78 PROGRAM, FOR WHICH PREPARATION AND STUDIES ARE ALREADY UNDER WAY." DURING SUBSEQUENT MEETINGS WITH YUGOSLAV SIDE, YUGOSLAVS AGREED THAT MORE ATTENTION SHOULD BE GIVEN TO SOCIAL SCIENCES ALTHOUGH THEY STRESSED THEIR CONTINUING INTEREST IN HARD SCIENCES. BOTH SIDES AGREED, AT MEETING IN AUG 1975, THAT IMBALANCE SINCE 1973 IN GRANTS TO

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YUGOSLAVS IN SCIENCE COULD NOT BE FURTHER COUNTENANCED, AND

THAT PROGRAM FOR 1977/78 (IT BEING TOO LATE MODIFY PANEL FOR 1976/77 FULL GRANTS) WOULD ATTEMPT TO RECTIFY THIS IMBALANCE.

2. IN DEC 1975, YUGOSLAV SIDE CHANGED MEMBERSHIP THEIR SIDE OF BOARD. AT FIRST MEETING AFTER THIS, (MARCH 1976) WHEN BOARD MET TO APPROVE 1977/78 PLAN, YUGOSLAV SIDE SUDDENLY RAISED OBJECTION TO IDEA THAT GRANTS AVAILABLE TO YUGOSLAVS BE APPORTIONED ON 50/50 BASIS BETWEEN SCIENCE AND SOCIAL SCIENCE. AFTER MUCH ARGUMENT, YUGOSLAV SIDE RELUCTANTLY AGREED TO PLAN AS DRAFTED, BUT STRESSED THAT THIS ONLY FOR 1977/78 YEAR AND THAT QUESTION OF BALANCE OF FUTURE PROGRAMS HAD TO BE RESOLVED THROUGH FURTHER DISCUSSION. THEY ALSO APPROVED ANNOUNCEMENT FOR TRAVEL GRANTS UNDER 1976/77 PROGRAM OFFERING EQUAL NUMBER GRANTS (22 AND 22) IN SOCIAL SCIENCE AND IN SCIENCE.

3. AT APRIL 1976 MEETING, BOARD AGAIN TOOK UP QUESTION OF PROGRAM BALANCE. YUGOSLAV SIDE INSISTED THAT THEIR MAIN INTEREST IS IN SENDING SCIENTISTS TO US, AND TROTTED OUT "GENTLEMEN'S AGREEMENT" (FOR WHICH US SIDE CAN FIND NO DOCUMENTATION) SUPPOSEDLY ADOPTED WHEN PROGRAM BEGAN THAT GRANTS WOULD BE DISTRIBUTED TO YUGOSLAVS ON 75/25 SPLIT BETWEEN SCIENCE AND SOCIAL SCIENCE AND ON AMERICAN SIDE GI 25/75 BASIS, THUS BALANCING PROGRAM OVER-ALL 50/50. AMERICAN SIDE AGREED THAT PROGRAM SHOULD BE BALANCED OVER-ALL BUT POINTED OUT THAT IT NEVER COULD BE IF YUGOSLAV FORMULATION FOLLOWED SINCE THERE ALWAYS MANY MORE YUGOSLAV PARTICIPANTS IN PROGRAM THAN AMERICANS. IN ADDITION, US SIDE NOTED THAT BOARD HAD ALREADY INDICATED TO BFS ITS INTENTION TO ORIENT PROGRAM MORE TOWARD SOCIAL SCIENCES, THAT IT THEREFORE HAD OBLIGATION TO CARRY THIS OUT, AND INDEED HAD BEEN SPECIFICALLY TOLD BY BFS IT MUST DO SO. BFS HAD APPROVED 1976/77 PROGRAM PROPOSAL ONLY ON UNDERSTANDING THIS RE-BALANCING WOULD OCCUR. IF IT DID NOT, BFS WOULD MOST LIKELY NOT APPROVE 1977/78 PROGRAM. US SIDE TOOK PAINS TO EXPLAIN TO YUGOSLAV SIDE PHILOSOPHY AND BACKGROUND OF FULBRIGHT PROGRAM (OF WHICH THEY SEEMINGLY UNAWARE) AND BFS POLICY STATEMENTS, PARTICULARLY THOSE IN "STATEMENT FOR 70'S."

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4. QUESTION OF PROGRAM BALANCE DORMANT AT BOARD MEETING JUN 22 AT WHICH SLATE OF CANDIDATES FOR FULL GRANTS IN 1977/78 APPROVED. PROBLEM RETURNED WITH RENEWED VIRULENCE AT SUBSEQUENT SUB-COMMITTEE MEETINGS IN JUNE AND EARLIER THIS MONTH (SEE BELGRADE 4529).

5. AT BOARD MEETING JUL 19, BOTH SIDES ATTEMPTED REACH

SOME COMPROMISE FIRST ON QUESTION OF REVISION OF PROGRAM PROPOSAL NECESSITATED BY US CONTRIBUTION BEING LESS THAN EXPECTED. YUGOSLAVS AGREED TO CUT BACK TRAVEL- ONLY GRANTS FOR THEIR CANDIDATES TO ABOUT 32. HOWEVER, WHEN DISCUSSION AROSE ON HOW THESE GRANTS BE DISTRIBUTED, THEY WERE INTRANSIGENT AND INSISTED THAT GREATER PART BE GIVEN TO SCIENTISTS, I.E. 22 GRANTS IN SCIENCE VERSUS 10 TO SOCIAL SCIENTISTS.

6. US SIDE THEN PROPOSED THAT NUMBER OF GRANTS BE DIVIDED EXACTLY IN HALF, I.E., 16 FOR SCIENCE, 16 FOR SOCIAL SCIENCE. NOMINATIONS FOR SCIENCE GRANTS COULD BE SENT IN IMMEDIATELY SINCE SUFFICIENT CANDIDATES PRESENTLY AVAILABLE. NAMES OF ALL THOSE WHO HAD APPLIED IN SOCIAL SCIENCE/ HUMANITIES (10 PEOPLE -- NEW LIST HAD BEEN PREPARED SINCE PREVIOUS MEETING ON SUBJECT) WOULD BE SUBMITTED NOW AS WELL, BUT A FURTHER SIX GRANTS WOULD BE RESERVED FOR ANY SUBSEQUENT CANDIDATES IN SOCIAL SCIENCE. WHEN YUGOSLAV SIDE REJECTED THIS PROPOSAL, US SIDE SUGGESTED THAT SOME EQUAL NUMBER OF GRANTS BE AWARDED NOW, I.E., 10 IN SCIENCE, 10 IN SOCIAL SCIENCE AND THAT QUESTION OF DISPOSITION OF FUTURE GRANTS BE TAKEN UP LATER. THIS WOULD AT LEAST ALLOW SOME PEOPLE TO OBTAIN GRANTS UNDER THE PROGRAM FOR THIS FALL. YUGOSLAV SIDE COUNTERED WITH PROPOSAL THAT 16 GRANTS BE AWARDED NOW TO SCIENTISTS AND 10 (SINCE THAT TOTAL NUMBER WHO HAD APPLIED SO FAR) IN SOCIAL SCIENCE AND THAT ANY REMAINING GRANTS COULD BE DISCUSSED LATER ON. WHEN US SIDE OBJECTED THAT THEY FAILED SEE COMPROMISE IN THIS, YUGOSLAV SIDE REPLIED THAT IT WAS ONE INASMUCH AS ALL CANDIDATES IN SOCIAL SCIENCE WOULD THUS BE TAKEN CARE OF WHEREAS ONLY SOME OF THE CANDIDATES IN SCIENCE WOULD BE ACCOMMODATED. YUGOSLAVS LATER MODIFIED THIS POSITION TO EFFECT THAT THEY WOULD GO ON LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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RECORD THAT ANOTHER SIX GRANTS PERHAPS MIGHT BE RESERVED WITH AN ADVANTAGE FOR SOCIAL SCIENTISTS, WHILE US SIDE COULD GO ON RECORD AS INSISTING THE SIX BE RESERVED FOR SOCIAL SCIENTISTS. US SIDE AGREED TO CONSIDER THIS IF DIFFERENCE BETWEEN GRANTS IN TWO CATEGORIES COULD BE MADE SMALLER, SUCH AS A 10/12 OR 10/14 SPLIT. AT THAT POINT, YUGOSLAV SIDE OBJECTED THAT US SIDE INJECTING NEW PRINCIPLES INTO DISCUSSION, THAT MATTER COULD NOT BE DECIDED AT PRESENT MEETING, AND THAT THE QUESTION OF PRINCIPLE OF PROGRAM BALANCE MUST BE RESOLVED FIRST BEFORE ANY COMPROMISE CAN BE WORKED OUT.

7. YUGOSLAVS SEEM TO BE OBJECTING TO WHAT THEY REGARD AS UNEQUAL TREATMENT, I.E., BFS RULINGS MUST BE FOLLOWED, WHEREAS APPARENT NEW GOY POLICY DECISION (TO CONCENTRATE ON

SCIENCES ON YUGOSLAV SIDE) BEING DISREGARDED. PRESENT
BEHAVIOR IS TYPICAL GOY WAY OF DISPLAYING DISPLEASURE

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AT (SUPPOSEDLY) BEING TOLD WHAT TO DO, PARTICULARLY BY USG.
ALSO OBJECT (OR SO THEY SAY) TO HAVING ONLY THEIR PART OF
PROGRAM BALANCED BETWEEN DISCIPLINES WHN US PART IS
NOT.

8. US SIDE HAS TRIED TO EXPLAIN THAT BFS POLICY BINDING
ON BOTH SIDES OF COMMISSION, THAT COMMISSION CAN UNDER-
TAKE NO ACTION WITHOUT BFS APPROVAL, AND THAT COMMISSION
HAVING AGREED 18 MONTHS AGO TO GIVE GREATER PRIORITY TO
SOCIAL SCIENCES, PER BFS INSTRUCTIONS, CANNOT REVERSE
ITSELF AT THIS POINT WITHOUT RISKING BFS CENSURE. US
SIDE ALSO POINTED OUT THAT DEPARTMENT HAS OTHER DEMANDS
ON ITS RESOURCES AND THAT IF YUGOSLAV PROGRAM DOES NOT CONFORM
TO BFS STIPULATIONS AND AGREED-ON PROGRAM PRO-
POSALS, IT SIMPLY WILL NOT FUND COMMISSION'S ACTIVITIES.
US SIDE ALSO EXPRESSED WILLINGNESS INTRODUCE BALANCE
BETWEEN DISCIPLINES IN GRANTS TO AMERICANS, ALTHOUGH
NOTED THIS COUNTERPRODUCTIVE SINCE YUGOSLAV UNIVERSITIES
UNPREPARED MAKE FULL USE OF ADDITIONAL US LECTURERS IN
SCIENCE, EXCEPT ON SHORT TERM BASIS (WHICH BFS DOES NOT
APPROVE), AND SINCE IT WOULD MEAN CUTTING BACK HIGHLY
SUCCESSFUL AND USEFUL JUNIOR LECTURER PROGRAM. WE WILLING
GO THROUGH CUT-OFF-NOSE-TO-SPITE-FACE ROUTINE, BUT WARNED
THIS LIKELY TO RESULT IN UNFULFILLED PROGRAM AT END OF
PROGRAM YEAR AND CONSEQUENT CUT BACK IN FUNDS THE NEXT.

9. BOTH SIDES HAVE NOW ARGUED TO STANDSTILL. PROGRAM FOR 1976/77 WILL, OF COURSE, CONTINUE, SINCE FULL GRANTS, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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BOTH FOR US AND YUGOSLAVS, HAVE ALREADY BEEN AWARDED. ONLY PERSONS CURRENTLY HURT BY THIS EXERCISE IN FUTILITY ARE YUGOSLAV TRAVEL-ONLY GRANTEES, MOST OF WHOM CAN PROBABLY FIND ALTERNATIVE SOURCES OF FUNDING. (FYI, IT NOT UNKNOWN, POST HAS DISCOVERED, FOR YUGOSLAV GRANTEE TO APPLY FOR AND RECEIVE TRAVEL-GRANT FROM AYEC AND SIMILAR GRANT FROM A YUGOSLAV INSTITUTION. HE USES AYEC GRANT FOR HIMSELF AND YUGOSLAV ONE FOR SPOUSE).

10. YUGOSLAV SIDE HAS LECTURED US COLLEAGUES THAT NOT IN INTEREST OF US TO INSIST ON HAVING BALANCE IN GRANTS ON YUGOSLAV SIDE SINCE YUGOSLAVS MAINLY INTERESTED IN SCIENCE (IN FACT, ONE YUGOSLAV MEMBER COMMISSION, IN ALL SERIOUSNESS, SUGGESTED US MEMBERS SHOULD WARN DEPT AND BFS THEIR (DEPT AND BFS'S) STAND MISTAKEN.) IT OBVIOUS YUGOSLAV MEMBERS COMMISSION IGNORING WHOLE POINT OF FULBRIGHT PROGRAM -- I.E., TO INCREASE MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING-- AND THAT THEY FAIL REALIZE OR ARE IGNORING FACT THAT YUGOSLAV INTEREST BEST SERVED BY SENDING MORE SCHOLARS IN SOCIAL SCIENCES/HUMANITIES TO US WHERE THEY COULD WORK TO DECREASE TREMENDOUS IGNORANCE OF MOST AMERICANS ABOUT YUGOSLAVIA. YUGOSLAV SIDE'S ARGUMENT THAT PARTICIPATION OF ELECTRICAL ENGINEER FURTHERS GOALS OF PROGRAM JUST AS WELL AS THAT OF SOCIAL SCIENTIST ILLUSTRATES THIS LACK OF UNDERSTANDING. (FOR THAT MATTER, THERE SOME CONFUSION IN MISSION ABOUT DEPARTMENT'S RATIONALE FOR CONSIDERING MEDICAL DOCTORS AS DIFFERENT FROM HARD SCIENTISTS FOR PURPOSES OF EXCHANGE (SEE REFTEL). WOULD APPRECIATE CLARIFICATION THIS POINT.)

11. AS FAR AS US SIDE CONCERNED, BELIEVE WE HAVE NO COURSE BUT TO CONTINUE TO HOLD FIRM TO POLICY THAT YUGOSLAV SIDE MUST IMPROVE BALANCE ON THEIR SIDE OF LEDGER. OTHERWISE, IN VIEW OF APPARENT YUGOSLAV DETERMINATION USE FULBRIGHT PROGRAM TO REPLACE DISCONTINUING PL-480 PROGRAM, WE STAND LITTLE OR NO CHANCE OF HAVING PROGRAM IN 1977/78 REMOTELY RESEMBLING PROPOSAL, AT LEAST AS FAR AS TRAVEL-ONLY GRANTS CONCERNED, OR OF IMPLEMENTING BFS "STATEMENT FOR 70'S" IN FUTURE PROGRAMS. IN THAT EVENT, THERE REALLY NO JUSTIFICATION FOR CONTINUING SPEND \$500,000 PLUS ANNUALLY ON FULBRIGHT PROGRAM, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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PARTICULARLY WHEN OTHER MEANS TO ACHIEVE OUR PURPOSES COULD BE FOUND (SUCH AS DIRECT GRANTS TO US UNIVERSITIES OR REACTIVATING SPECIALISTS PROGRAM UNDER IVP TO INCLUDE GRANTS TO ACADEMICS FOR SHORT-TERM PROJECTS, ETC.) ALSO SOME OF FUNDS IN 1977 CPP EARMARKED FOR ACADEMIC EXCHANGE COULD EASILY BE SHIFTED TO IV PROGRAM, NOW THAT YUGOSLAVS APPEAR MORE WILLING PARTICIPATE IN THAT ACTIVITY.

12. GRANTED, ESTABLISHMENT OF COMMISSION IN YUGOSLAVIA IMPORTANT STEP FORWARD IN OUR RELATIONS WHEN TAKEN. HOWEVER, RECORD OF PERFORMANCE OF SECRETARIAT OF COMMISSION AND CURRENT UNCOOPERATIVENESS BY YUGOSLAV MEMBERS, LEAD POST TO CONSIDER IF PROGRAM OBJECTIVES MIGHT BE REALISED MORE CHEAPLY AND EASILY BY SOME OTHER MODALITY. COST OF OPERATION OF SECRETARIAT NOW EXCEEDS GOY CONTRIBUTION BY SOME \$10,000. SECRETARIAT CHRONICALLY INEFFICIENT IN PLACING AND ASSISTING US GRANTEES. EXECUTIVE SECRETARY HAS CONTRIBUTED TO GENERAL INEFFICIENCY BY WRANGLING WITH STAFF (SEE BELGRADE A-22, JAN 21, 1975, AND PREVIOUS), ATTEMPTING APPOINT HIS FRIENDS TO SECRETARIAT, AND AWARDED GRANTS WITHOUT REGARD FOR OPERATIONAL PROCEDURES. MOST RECENT INSTANCE OF LATTER POINT WAS CASE OF AY 1976/77 CANDIDATE NEBOJSA MARIC WHOSE NOMINATION SENT TO DEPARTMENT WITHOUT PRIOR CLEARANCE BY AYEC BOARD AND WHILE ACAO, ONLY PERSON LIKELY BE AWARE OF THIS FACT, OUT OF COUNTRY. ONLY AFTER REPEATED REMONSTRANCES DID EXECUTIVE SECRETARY ASK SUB-COMMITTEE FOR CLEARANCE. FURTHER, HE HAS BEEN FAR FROM NEUTRAL IN CURRENT DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN YUGOSLAV AND AMERICAN SIDES ABOUT PROGRAM BALANCE, SOMETIMES EVEN BEING CHIEF APOLOGIST FOR YUGOSLAV POSITION.

13. YUGOSLAV BOARD MEMBERS HAVE STATED THEY FIND PROGRAM USEFUL BUT CANNOT AGREE TO ITS CONTINUATION UNDER JUST "ANY CIRCUMSTANCES" BELIEVE THAT US SIDE CAN, WITH GREATER JUSTIFICATION, TAKE SIMILAR ATTITUDE, PARTICULARLY IF YUGOSLAVS CONTINUE REFUSE PLAY THE GAME ACCORDING TO THE RULES.

14. COMMENT: THIS WHOLE EXERCISE IS A FAMILIAR GOY LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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TACTIC. IN THIS CASE, THEIR REFUSAL TO COMPROMISE AND VIRTUAL WITHDRAWAL FROM FIELD UNTIL SEPTEMBER IS ATTEMPT TO MAKE THEIR PROBLEM OUR RPT OUR PROBLEM. IF THEY DO NOT WANT TO SPEND US TAXPAYER MONEY IN ACCORDANCE WITH AGREED-UPON PRINCIPLES OF BALANCE, I SEE NO REASON TO DO OTHER THAN LET MATTER REST. I FIND LOGIC

AND CONTENT OF PARAS 11-13 COMPELLING.
SILBERMAN

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